

867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is customary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some 857

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563 58 The meat at feasts is always

555 distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their house-
 574 hold. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons but not for
 themselves or their daughters. This is consistent with the theory that
 542 flesh food is the property of men. Since feasts are primarily occasions
 for food distribution and actual consumption is at home, women do get
 a share, but only as dependents of the men. Also, since meat is eaten
 primarily in connection with feasts or sacrifices and is definitely a treat,
 the way is open for it to become set in children's minds as a symbol of
 masculine prerogative. The system of meat distribution helps to rein-
 567 force early in life, and on a very basic level, the role of masculine pres-
 tige in the culture. Men are not the providers; in fact, they are quite
 the contrary. They are the ones provided for, but they are also the
 purveyors of a delicacy.

857 The girl, then, is set during early childhood in the essential and inti-
 mate relationship to the food cycle that she will follow all her life. Yet
 no girl who is unmarried may make a contribution in her own name to
 food displays, even though she may have grown and prepared some of
 the food that is brought in her mother's name. This means that she may
 be assuming adult responsibilities without receiving adult recognition. It
 is worth noting in this connection that public food contributions are the
 symbol of female adulthood.

539 The following condensed version of an Alorrese tale illustrates nicely
 the role of the sexes, and especially of the mother-son relationship,
 in the matter of food. Here the young men appear demanding and
 vengeful, while the woman vacillates between being a gratifying and a
 frustrating figure.

Story of the Wasteful Sons

Two brothers went to work in their garden and their mother cooked
 food for them to take along. When they came home they said, "Our
 friends have finished the food. It would be nice to cook more." So the
 mother cooked more food and took it to them in the garden. Part of
 the food they ate, part they spilled. [The meaning is that in carry-
 ing the food to their mouths with a coconut-shell spoon they were
 careless and let a portion fall to the ground.] In the evening they again
 asked their mother to cook food for them to take to the fields. They
 took the food and again ate part and spilled part. Then they ran home
 to their mother, saying, "Mother, we are sick; therefore cook us millet."
 The mother put the feces of their youngest brother in the pot of
 millet she cooked for them.

When the brothers entered the house, they smelled feces and refused

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155 no new situations are encountered. What we will see henceforth is merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the social goal of status.

157 It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that
154 can supply us with some information about the source from which the quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to, or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think well of oneself. In this regard the Alorrese quest for prestige has a very strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle the individual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of unworthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male strongly repressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men who steal and ask for presents; the women do not. Women return gifts; men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings; the mother much less so. The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not. The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be exaggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of unworthiness.

154 The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to
556 establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the form of an actual accumulation of gongs and mokos. Emphasis falls rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the
155 mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this
157 defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by
241 intense feelings of greed and envy. The general stinginess about food is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training in childhood.

556 The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The

- 574 fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in
- 578 turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that attends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

Some Personality Determinants in Alorese Culture 189

has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy. It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feeling. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity of evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the necessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are distributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enormous amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard aggression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place. It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one directed by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive toward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their aggression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of getting any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unrestrained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elaboration of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

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x 159 tore off the flesh so you could see the bone. [The interpreter shivered at this point.] I cried. I brushed it off. Riema came to see and I told him that I had brushed the bat off and it must still be near. Riema saw it in some weeds and shot it. In all we got five bats. Then Riema helped me up to Lawatika and I stayed there overnight while the others went home. [Question.] No, I didn't dream of this afterward.

February 13, 1939

When I was about six or seven, I cried because mother said we should go to the garden and I didn't want to. So I stayed home and played with my friends in the village. In the afternoon mother brought me some corn, which I roasted and ate. Then I cried again. I cried a lot. I cried because I wanted to eat with father's guests. Mother and x 159 father said I couldn't. The guests, they said, had to eat alone. I kept 574 crying until everyone was through eating. I cried until everyone was 865 asleep. Father woke up and heard me still crying. So father put a 867 basket over my head that reached down to my stomach. Father held me while mother poured water on my head through the basket. I was still crying hard. So mother and father talked nicely to me. They said, "When guests come, you can't eat with them. If you ate with them they wouldn't say anything here, but they would go home and say we didn't bring you up well because we let you eat with guests. We were angry with you for this reason, and for this reason we put a basket over your head and poured water on you." Then father said, "Will you act like this another time?" I was still crying under the basket and did not answer. Then father said, "Answer before I take off the basket." Then I said I wouldn't act like that again. Father said, "Next time guests come you mustn't stay near us but go with your mother." After that I stopped crying.

x 159 When I was about twelve or thirteen, father and mother went to cut weeds in Puorkaivi. A big rain came. We were all there with my friends. [It is customary to have a group of children help in communal 476 field work.] My friends went on working. I sat under a raincape be- 857 hind the line of workers. Father was working at the end of the line. He came toward me but I did not see him. He snatched off my cape and asked why I was just sitting. He said, "When you grow up you won't be accustomed to work and you will be lazy." He took my hands and rubbed them in the dirt, saying, "Your nails are long. You are lazy." All my nails were ripped and they bled. So I cried and ran away to Alurkowati, to Kolata [his father's first wife]. She said, "Maybe your mother and father have many male children, that they rub your

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X159 People gathered

mango pits and soaked them for three days, then we ate them pounded up or whole. We took banana stalks and roots and mixed them with mango seeds to make the death feasts. One time Fanling and Lanpada went to buy sweet potatoes, camava, and corn at Fuifoka near Kelaini. They took knife blades, necklaces, and anklets with them to buy food. They bought the whole camava plant—leaves, stalk, and roots. For a knife blade they got only two or three cents' worth of corn or camava. For a big necklace they got just ten small ears of corn. Many people had to share just a little corn mixed with many greens. When the men came home, they said, "Now we are hungry, and there are many people sick because of it. Save seeds and plant the camava stalks." We cut the cassava stalks and the sweet potatoes into small pieces for planting. We [257] planted cassava stalks and sweet potatoes, and as soon as they were large enough we cut more shoots for planting. We kept planting corn too until there was much of all foods and people were filled up again.

[I asked how she herself reacted to this.] During this time mother wanted to cut weeds at Raugfui. Before she left she cooked some corn and put it in a basket for me. She said that she and Kawaimani were going to cut weeds and that I must stay behind. I said, "I had better go too because people will come and deceive me and eat my corn." But mother said, "Oh, if people come and deceive you, your father [Manimai, really her uncle] is a killer and he will come and kill them. You stay. Kawaimani and I will go cut the weeds." When mother left, all my playmates came to play with me. [Question. She was staying at the time with Manimai and his large family. Although the family with whom she was staying would have fed her, her mother said it was [574] proper during a hungry time, or at any other time, to leave food for a child with the host's family.] While we played, we talked of the cat's coming. [Here she repeated the children's story of the cat's coming [576] nearer and nearer. She gave all the place names from Likuwatang to [857] Atimelang until the cat entered the house and the children screamed. [538] This was a favorite scare story for children. Lomani had heard it first from her mother, but this time the story was being told by Marata, an older girl. Question.] I was not really afraid of the story; I just pretended to be frightened.

[I asked whether she remembered being very sick. This was an attempt to get the story of her badly scarred mouth.]

When I was small I wasn't sick. I got sick after I married, when my husband was already dead and my child was still small. I wanted to come back here, but my mother-in-law said, "No. I am your mother

¹⁵⁹ payment on his daughter. Lomai was hurt by a falling stone when she was cutting weeds in her garden. Langmai didn't help her weed, so she was angry with him and didn't want him. Langmai had been staying at Lomai's house. Langmai was sick there. Lomai's mother went into the loft to fetch food and she let dirt fall on him where he lay. [This was a gentle hint that he was not welcome.] Langmai said, "Whether I live or die, I had better return to my own house." So he came home. He was sick for two years before he died. After his death I went to stay at Leifui. It was during this time that the soldiers came and I fled with my children.

April 7, 1939

[No dreams.]

When the soldiers came to wage war because the radjah had been killed at Fungwati, many people came here to hide. I and Langmai ran away to Hatoberka. Mother was dead, but mother's second husband, Manima, was still living. He said, "You and my second wife go to Talmang." So I and she and Tilaleti went with our children to Talmang. We stayed first at one place and then at another. [She gave in detail all their movements.] Finally we went back to Hatoberka. There people wanted to kill someone from Atimelang because Hatoberka was at war with the Five Villages. Fanfili was preparing to kill us because he wanted a head, but we said, "We are Hatoberka people too." He said, "Oh, we're hunting for a head, but not yours." He went on and found Lakamau of Atimpe. They tied him and brought him to the village still alive. They seated him on the dance-place altar. That night they danced for him, and at dawn they killed him. [This is not customary procedure.] The next day I left Hatoberka. On the way I remembered that I had forgotten a piglet. I went back for it and found it sleeping in the house near the fire. While I was gone Langmai thought maybe people might have killed me, so he came back to search for me. Then the two of us stayed in Hatoberka to harvest the sun corn that we had planted. We had planted it when we went to Hatoberka after Langmai and his elder brother, Letfani, had fought. [Here she continued with accounts of the gardens planted. I asked about her other husbands and children.]

After Langmai's death I married Fanlaka, who gave father's Rolik death feast for me. Then I divorced him. Letfani [Langmai's brother] paid Fanlaka's expenses, and I went to live with Letfani. He gave mother's Tila death feast. Mailani then paid Letfani's marriage ex-

155 The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life
152 might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicious distrust. It has at
865 its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative
idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage
is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very latest during the first decade of life.

155 While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own re-
868 sources. He may expect his father to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and an-
866 other at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns
to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the fluid play groups of free
[24] roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usu-
ally spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas,
sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule
adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but
if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such ob-
jections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor
might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reprimands on this
score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But
an additional factor in adult objections to children using garden crops too freely is that it
155 may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangana, in his autobiography, gives
518 several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.
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865 Manimale said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were
away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes.
But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we
always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we
always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your
garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more."
I splashed water on him. Manimale said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys fre-
quently indulge. The whole system of feeding reinforces one of the marked intracultural
tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

155 During this preschool play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an
[574] adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of
859 food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very
855 soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip
and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hun-
ger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed
on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being
prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those
who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to
roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND PERSONALITY

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RICE CONES PURCHASED BY THE HOST IN A HOUSE BUILDING PARTY

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482
415
291
342
431



CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE WIFE'S FAMILY IN A HOUSE PARTY

[Facing p. 276]

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source of food. The rats are often routed on the spot, and the children are given the bones, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is so present and so immediately procured as discipline is administered. Further, the food secured is the less choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is rather so long too as free. They are more closely attached to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefore more regular access to food. I know of no case in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the guest privilege of the small boy. She gets no tidbits during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat at feasts is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers; in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for; yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more systematic and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult existence. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and honorific occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often insists at this time on a solitary meal, even if he must cook for himself.